



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

Thompson
1829.



600011755P

29

850.



S.H. 1829

England's Liberties Defended.



THE SUBSTANCE
OF
A SECOND SPEECH

AFTER AN INTERVAL OF SIXTEEN YEARS,
INTENDED TO HAVE BEEN DELIVERED AT A MEETING
CONVENED

IN QUEEN - SQUARE,

IN THE CITY OF BRISTOL,

For the Purpose of taking into Consideration the Expediency of presenting

A PETITION TO PARLIAMENT

AGAINST

The Claims of the Roman Catholics.

BY

WILLIAM THORP,

DISSENTING MINISTER OF BRISTOL.

*"My Son fear thou the Lord and the King; and join not with them
that are given to change."—SOLOMON.*

BRISTOL:

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY J. M. GUTCH, 15, SMALL STREET,

AND SOLD BY THE DIFFERENT BOOKSELLERS.

1829.

850.



PREFACE.

AT a time, when the very heart of the Constitution seems to indicate, from the inequality of its motions, the progress of a secret, yet deep-rooted disease,—now lazy in its action, and scarcely sustaining the vigour and vitality of the extremities, and now hurried and palpitating, as if under the influence of a mortal fear, it is no wonder to see the members of that Constitution displaying a morbid alternation of complexion and aspect, and failing to perform with their accustomed facility, the functions allotted them. Nor is it less wonderful to observe those members insensible to every, even the most powerful impressions, when either a temporary fit of delirium, or a more obstinate paralysis has seized on the head of the system, the source and spring of action. Such symptoms are, to say the least, extremely alarming, and we argue the unsoundness of some principal functionary, from such indisputable marks.

The people of this country have, in the course of late years, suffered under the influences of causes similar to what we have here represented, and have beheld a question of vital importance to the well-being of these Protestant realms,

iv.

tampered and trifled with, in the hands of unhallowed, or at least of unthinking men, till the sanctity with which it has been regarded, in every period not distinguished by infatuation, ignorance, or the pomp of a shallow self-sufficiency, has been tarnished, or altogether obscured by the clouds which settle on and round about the understandings of a simple and unsuspecting multitude. To what other cause are we to attribute that difference of opinion which exists in the present day, on a point so clearly defined by the judgment of our fathers, and about which all disputes have been long since so clearly settled, not by the force of prejudice armed with power, nor by the unmeaning deliberations of inexperienced Cabinets, nor by a wisdom less practical, though ripened in an earlier and less mature period of the world, than that of the 19th Century, but by the unanimous decisions of men who appealed only to a dear-bought experience for their justification, and who looked forward in anticipation to these later ages for its confirmation, in the permanent blessings which they foretold would be reaped by their children, as the reward of their toils. Such insanity in their descendants is deeply and keenly to be regretted. But it is of no use to attempt to produce sound conviction on minds thus disorganized, by an appeal to reason ;—nor will the soothing system produce a much greater effect. Something, however, must be done to stop the progress of the evil, and by accurate investigation to ascertain how far it has already spread.

When we daily witness so lamentable a prostration of the

V.

understanding, and such oracular proofs of some evil influence, in the out-pourings of imbecility, and the æstus of Liberalism which comes over these deluded advocates of a destructive principle; when we find that the march of intellect has been increasing to a speed so far beyond what its actual strength will maintain, that an overwhelming lassitude must be the inevitable consequence; when we find that the understanding and knowledge of the present day, have grown so unnaturally fast, that there is some reason to fear they will drop off in a consumption, it is no longer either prudent or humane to decline an avowal of one's sentiments, since if it fail to convince the one party, it may be matter of consolation to the other. Were it not for the solemnity with which a subject of such immense importance is invested, it might be amusing to picture to oneself, a few of the manifold forms and varieties, in which this Proteus-like absurdity of the present day, is to be witnessed. We daily see the unhallowed coalition of the Atheist, and the Minister of the Gospel, each advocating upon principles, distinct as they would have us believe, and yet equivalent, if we may judge by the folly and presumption with which they are characterized in common, the same monstrous absurdity. The object of their officious benevolence, the more consistent Catholic, regards them both with hatred and contempt, and in spite of them refuses to admit the accuracy of any one principle on which their good natured stupidity is founded, though he gladly avails himself of the offer, which a principle totally inadmissible on his own scheme, has prompted. The two former obstinately main-

vi.

taining, in spite of the obstinate conviction of the latter, that he and his religion are changed, while he is forced by their increasing clamours to yield to a point in his own favour, though opposed to his creed, with a plea in his mouth, for the perpetuity of his own unchanged and unchanging system.

But I turn with pleasure to notice the glorious and triumphant manifestation of a better spirit, and of a more unequivocal soundness of head as well as of heart, made in this City, on occasion of the late Meeting in Queen-Square, held for the purpose of taking into consideration, the propriety of petitioning Parliament against further Concessions to the Roman Catholics ; an occasion never to be remembered but with feelings of the most devout enthusiasm, by all who rejoice to know, that the vestiges of our national character are still preserved, among this favoured portion of the people of our beloved country.

It was a lamentable thing, certainly, that some Gentlemen actuated not least of all by a spirit of faction, should on that day have presented themselves on the hustings merely to be taught the weakness of a bad cause under circumstances of such painful publicity, yet their inauspicious reception may act as a wholesome warning to them in future, not to over-rate their own influence upon the public mind, especially when they reflect, that the weakness of their cause, is really not greater than their feebleness as agents in making the best of it. I shall not, however, attempt to add to their

vii.

sufferings by laying open their wounds afresh. A meeting attended by between 12,000 and 15,000, and the computation is moderate, if we only strike the balance between conflicting statements, in which at least 20 to 1 were favourable to the measure ultimately carried, though a respected dissenting brother, on the opposite side of the House, saw,—or thought he saw 5 to 1 in favour of his own views, when the suffrages of the multitude were called for, will solidly and substantially prove the preponderance of good sense, over speculative, scheming, and presuming folly, in this city. And long may the fact continue to receive additional confirmation, in the increasing soundness and consistency of the views which it advocates.

I would, however, caution the adverse party, not to be so simple as to endeavour to use intimidation and threats, where threats and intimidation will not avail. Every effort that vulgarity or scurrility could devise has been employed to prevent my taking any public part in the late transactions in this city.

To a more lengthy, verbose, and somewhat gentlemanly correspondent, who has behaved with tolerable temper through a very prolix, attenuated, and feeble address, I would recommend the employment of his talents on a subject better suited to them. He may spend his time with more advantage to himself, and with more prospect of advantage to the world in which he lives, than he at present does, by scribbling in the columns of an obscure and scurrilous provincial newspaper.

viii.

One word, however, before I close, to my Roman Catholic Brethren. God forbid that I should attempt to throw obloquy upon them, or to disregard the claims which they have upon my affection and esteem, as men. They will give me credit for candour when I say, that I oppose them upon principle, though I at the same time regard them as more consistent in their character, than the individuals by whom their party is upheld, and who nevertheless profess to differ so essentially from them in their views. If I cannot convince them of their error, I may at least convince them of the impossibility of maintaining other sentiments than I do, consistently with the safety of that system which, as a Protestant Englishman, I am conscientiously bound to uphold.

5, PRITCHARD STREET.

THE SUBSTANCE, &c.

MR. CHAIRMAN,

SIR,

I rejoice to see a gentleman of such firmness and decision of character, who understands so well the duties of the chair, and knows so well how to support its dignity, even in the midst of tumult, uproar, and brutal outrage, presiding on this occasion.

Had you met this day, my Fellow Citizens, under ordinary circumstances, and on a question purely political, or of trivial importance, I certainly should not have appeared in this assembly, or if present, I should have remained silent. But you are not met under ordinary circumstances, but under circumstances the most extraordinary, and even unparalleled in the history of your country. This, my countrymen, is the crisis of the British Empire, and on this crisis, the destiny of the empire is suspended.

The question, too, on which you are met is not purely political or of trifling importance. On the contrary, it is a question which involves the most sacred rights of conscience, and the vital interests of *religious* as well as of civil liberty, which your fathers purchased and sealed with their blood; and ultimately, the very existence of our Protestant Establishment;—that establishment, under which those sacred rights and those vital interests have been guarded by the jealous eye of patriotic vigilance, and upheld by the strong arm of legal authority, hitherto uninjured;—that establishment, under which your country has risen to her present state

of moral elevation, and national prosperity and glory;—that establishment, for the settlement of which the spirit of Protestantism glowing in the bosoms of your forefathers, in the ages of Papal darkness and intolerance, struggled century after century, often amidst scenes of treason and rebellion, of anarchy and blood, till she beheld your rights and liberties, for the first time, enrolled in charter, at the glorious Revolution of 1688, and which from that happy era, continued to labour till she saw, or thought she saw them, fixed on everlasting foundations, in the Act of Settlement, and the exaltation of the Protestant House of Brunswick to the throne of these realms, when she rested from her toils, and smiling, said, **BRITONS BE FREE.**

Sir, I stand here as the cordial friend of civil and religious liberty, and as the determined enemy of bigotry, intolerance, and despotism. And I charge the adverse party, whether Catholics or Protestants, Socinians or Trinitarians, Radicals or Tories, Fanatics or Atheists, with being the enemies of liberty, and the abettors of despotism. This charge, Sir, with your permission, before I sit down, I will endeavour to establish; but first, I must say one word in my own defence.

I have been accused, my countrymen, of inconsistency, as the advocate of this great cause, since it is well known that I am a Protestant Dissenter. Suffer me to wipe off this foul aspersion, and throw it back upon the stupid heads of the calumniators. I am not ashamed to avow myself, a conscientious dissenter from the ecclesiastical establishment of my country, which I nevertheless revere, and nothing but scruples of conscience hinder me from entering within her pale. And I glory to own myself a descendant of one of those venerable men, of whom Hume testifies, speaking of the arbitrary measures of Elizabeth, that “by them alone was preserved the precious spark of

liberty," and that "to them the English owe the whole freedom of their Constitution;"—who have always been the enemies of Popery, because they know that she carries tyranny and persecution in her very vitals;—who indignantly rejected the overtures of James the Second, when they saw, that under the insidious pretext of removing all pains and penalties on account of religion, he was attempting to bring in Popery and arbitrary power;—and whose best blood has been so often shed in defence of Protestantism and a Protestant succession.

I stand, Sir, upon the ground on which my fathers stood, when they tore from the iron grasp of a gloomy Popish tyrant, the chains which he had forged for the bodies and the souls of Englishmen, and contributed their powerful aid towards placing William the Third on the throne of England, who seems still to sit upon that pedestal as the guardian angel of England's liberties.* I stand on the same ground on which my fathers stood, when acting in conjunction with the great statesmen and patriots of the day. Amidst the collision of contending parties, they turned and fixed the wavering balance in favor of the Protestant House of Brunswick, in opposition to the most dangerous confederacy ever formed against the liberties of any nation. Standing, thus successfully, on this firm and immoveable ground, in defence of my own character against the charge of inconsistency, does not the stigma of inconsistency rest upon those Dissenters, whether heterodox or orthodox, who at this crisis advocate the Catholic Claims? And is not their inconsistency aggravated by their apostacy from the principles of their fore-

* It may be necessary to inform those who are unacquainted with the local circumstances and associations connected with the occasion of the present Speech, that the hustings, on which the business of the meeting was conducted, were fixed immediately under the equestrian statue of King William, which adorns Queen Square. The King is represented holding in his hand The Bill of Rights, and was, on this occasion, ornamented with appropriate Protestant emblems.

fathers, of which nothing but ignorance or want of consideration, can be admitted as an excuse or palliation. I stand upon the same ground on which Sheldon and Usher and Milton and Hampden and Sydney and Locke and Newton stood;—those, colossal minds, by the side of which your Irish and English agitators, your editors of Westminster and Edinburgh Reviews, your Broughams and Huskissons, your Peels and Wellingtons, are but infants of a span long! Those master spirits of their respective ages were friends to toleration, and therefore enemies to Popery, because they knew that Popery, intolerance, and despotism are inseparable. The intellectual Locke, who first laid open the principles of toleration in a lucid form, and confirmed them by irrefragable arguments, raised his voice against granting concessions to Papists, from a firm conviction that Popery is but another name for intolerance and despotism.

This, though admitted by Protestants, is indignantly denied by Catholics, yea, unblushingly denied in the teeth of universal history, civil and ecclesiastical; and, as some colour of plausibility to the effrontery, historical facts have often been mis-stated and mis-represented; sometimes, indeed, with considerable ingenuity, as in the far-famed speech of Mr. Shiel, said to be addressed to the freeholders of Kent, standing round the sacred ark of the Constitution upon Penenden-Heath,—a speech distinguished by gross ignorance or wilful perversion of the circumstances of the facts, to which he professes to appeal, by flimsy and Jesuitical sophistry, and by the glare of meretricious eloquence, which may dazzle and confound the feeble and uninformed, but can make no impression on the mind of an enlightened Englishman, who holds in his hands the records of his country, and is familiar with their contents. All the argument contained in that artful and imposing speech, which

embodies all that Roman Catholics and their advocates have said a thousand times, may be fairly answered in one sentence, the statements of which, will be borne out by the testimony of every well-read historian and sound antiquarian of the empire. All the blessings of this free and Protestant state, which Mr. Shiel, with strange effrontery, ascribes to Popery ; such as trial by jury, Magna Charta, the liberty of the subject, and the limits of the Crown, with all the principles of liberty which are interwoven with the very texture of the British Constitution, and which, as ages rolled by, have grown with its growth, and strengthened with its strength; may be traced up, partly to the Druidical institutions of the Ancient Britons, before the Christian era or the Roman Conquest, and partly to the influence of Christian principle and the operation of Roman law, long before England was put under the Papal yoke; but chiefly to the spirit of Protestantism contending in the dark ages with the ecclesiastical despotism of Popes, and the secular tyranny of Popish princes, achieving glorious conquests at the Reformation, and securing her most splendid triumphs at the glorious Revolution of 1688, when the Stuart dynasty was superseded; because the Stuarts attempted to place Roman Catholics in the Cabinet, in the Senate, and all offices of Church and State; and the people of England invited William the Third, upon the express condition, that he should not commit the same acts, which the Stuarts had committed.

Our Protestant Constitution, as then established, is still standing, but God only knows how long it may stand; like some ancient and magnificent edifice, which from time to time has been dilapidated and repaired, partially broken down and partially rebuilt, touched and re-touched, until the different characters and styles of architecture of various ages have been melted one into another, and soften-

ed down by the hand of genius and taste, into one mass of sublime beauty and elegant magnificence. This noble political structure, be it remembered, is not the work of Popery, but of Patriotism contending with Popery, and finally rescuing it from her grasp to receive its finishing touch from the genius of Protestantism.

My countrymen, two great national calamities have happened in one week. York Minster, the glory of British architecture, burnt down, it is said by a Protestant madman, and a brand applied to the British Constitution, justly stiled the admiration of the world, by the trembling hand of Wellington, pushed on by the violence of Popish demagogues and atheistical fanatics. Popery then has ever been, and notwithstanding the bold assertions of Mr. Shiel, Mr. O'Connel, and the whole gang of Irish agitators, ever must be the enemy of liberty, and the ally of despotism.

I shall now proceed more fully to establish this heavy charge, to explain the peculiar nature of Papal despotism, and to point out the extreme danger of removing the mounds and bulwarks of British liberty, and thus laying open our Protestant Constitution to Papal influence. Wherefore, Sir, I beseech you, to hear me patiently. For this purpose it will be necessary to examine the structure, the laws, the policy, and the jurisprudence of the Papal Hierarchy, which, I am sorry to say, seem to be but little understood in the present day, either by Protestants in general, or by the great body of the Catholic laity, and the exposure of which will explain many things in the present state of our affairs, which are otherwise inexplicable. The Papal Hierarchy, be it remembered, is an *imperium in imperio*, an empire within an empire. Strange anomaly! Singular spectacle in the eyes of the world! An universal spiritual empire within an universal secular empire, not only co-existing,

but though occasionally thwarting and producing temporary convulsions in both, yet, upon the whole, supporting and strengthening each other. The secular empire is composed of all the kingdoms of Europe, in alliance with the Church of Rome, and often called in diplomatic style, "The Holy Roman Empire." The spiritual empire is the Papal Hierarchy, of which the Roman Pontiff is the sovereign, who claims principality over every human creature, and rules the secular empire by a spiritual authority. I say a spiritual authority; for the Pope does not even call himself King or Emperor, but the Representative or Vicar of St. Peter, of Christ, and of God, yea, another God upon earth. His court is apostolical, and all that is done there is done by apostolical authority. He has a privy council or conclave, but it consists of spiritual lords or cardinals. All his ambassadors or nuncios are apostolical. All his inferior courts and offices are spiritual courts and offices. And the laws of his empire are all dictated by the inspiration of the eternal spirit, and are therefore infallible.

It has always been the policy of the Roman Pontiff to separate his spiritual empire from the secular empire; to keep it perfectly distinct; and to take care that it shall never lose its character as an *imperium in imperio*; claiming at the same time supreme spiritual dominion. To this cause is to be ascribed the principal wars and divisions, persecutions and massacres, mutual hatreds and jealousies, which have so often torn and rent asunder the people of England and the states of Europe. Their real source is to be found in this policy of the court of Rome, and the resistance of the states and sovereigns of Europe against the conduct resulting from it.

It seems almost superfluous to cite history to prove the truth of statements so generally known and admitted. I cannot, however, refrain from noticing one

incident which explains in an ample manner this policy of the Roman See, and places in a conspicuous point of view the nature of that spiritual domination, which the Roman Pontiff exercises over all his vassals in opposition to secular princes. When Edward the First, of England, attempted to impose a tax upon the clergy, Boniface the 8th, who had succeeded Celestine in the Papal throne, was determined to resume the authority which for some time had been relaxed by his predecessors, and to protect the spiritual order against all invaders. For this purpose he issued very early in his pontificate a general Bull, prohibiting all princes from levying any taxes upon the clergy without his consent, and all clergymen from submitting to such impositions; at the same time threatening both, with the pains of excommunication in case of disobedience.

No sooner, therefore, had the King made his demand upon the clergy, than they sheltered themselves under the Bull of the holy Pontiff, and pleaded conscience in refusing to comply with the requisition. Edward avoided proceeding immediately to extremities on this account; but having given orders to lock up all their granaries and barns, and prohibited all rents from being paid to them, he summoned a new Synod, to confer with him upon the demand. The Primate, however, not at all intimidated by Edward's resolution, told him plainly that the nation, but especially the clergy, owed obedience to two sovereigns, their spiritual and temporal sovereign; but that their duty bound them to a much stronger attachment to the former than to the latter. They could not, therefore, obey his commands, which were directly contrary to the positive prohibition of their supreme sovereign.* This single incident is sufficient to explain the nature of this policy of the court of Rome, to prove

* See Puffendorf.

the extreme care of the Pontiffs, to keep their spiritual empire perfectly distinct from the secular empire, and to show the paramount allegiance which Roman Catholics owe to their spiritual, above their temporal sovereign. This made Lord Clarendon say, which is confirmed also by the reasoning of Dr. Barrow, "If the Pope be allowed to exercise any authority in another Prince's dominions, (how limited soever the same may be) under the title of spiritual or any other restraint, it shall, by the artifices and comments of his emissaries, the Priests, be extended to such a magnitude on the hearts and affections of his subjects, as shall be strong enough to disturb and shake all temporality, when it shall be applied for that purpose."—Vol. II. p. 679. But this, you reply, is an old almanack ; it may be so in the judgment of a Protestant ; but before I have done, the Roman Catholics will tell you, that it is never out of date.

From this ecclesiastical empire have branched out two ecclesiastical kingdoms, subordinate to, and so closely connected with the head of the empire, as to be entirely at his devotion, and subject to his controul. These are two regularly organized bodies of ecclesiastics, distinct from each other, governed by their own laws, subject primarily to their immediate superiors, and ultimately to the Pontiff, as the sovereign of the whole empire, being first, the regular, and secondly, the secular clergy. The first class comprehends all the various monastic orders, who are subject first to their generals or superiors, and ultimately to the Pope. The second class comprehends the whole body of the secular or parochial clergy, who are subject primarily to their respective bishops, and ultimately to the sovereign Pontiff.

The monastic orders, says Mosheim, have always been considered by the Roman Pontiffs as the principal support of their authority and dominion. By

means of them chiefly they governed the church, maintained their influence on the minds of the people, and augmented the number of their votaries. The power of the Dominicans and Franciscans greatly surpassed that of the other orders, and for many ages rendered them a singular spectacle in the eyes of the world. During several centuries these two fraternities governed with an almost universal and absolute sway both Church and State; filled the most eminent posts, civil and ecclesiastical; taught in Universities, and in the Church, with an authority, before which, all opposition was silent, and maintained the majesty of the Roman Pontiff against Kings, Princes, Bishops and Heretics, with incredible ardour and success. The Dominicans and Franciscans were, in fact, before the Reformation, what the Jesuits have been since that happy and glorious period, the very soul of the hierarchy, the engines of the secular empire, the secret springs of the motions of one and of the other, and the directors of every great and important event, both in the religious and in the political world.

While the Pontiffs accumulated upon the Mendicants, the most honourable distinctions, and the most invaluable privileges they had to bestow, they exposed them to the envy and hatred of the rest of the clergy, and thus kept the two bodies distinct from each other; and this hatred was considerably increased by the audacious arrogance which everywhere appeared, in the conduct of those vassals of the Papal domination, and especially by the contempt and arrogance with which they treated Metropolitans, Bishops, and all the ranks and orders of the priesthood. Thus the monastic orders were a well organized body of men, governed by their own laws, exempt from episcopal jurisdiction, subject first to their generals or superiors, and ultimately to the Pope. In short, they completely

answer to every idea, we can form, of an ecclesiastical kingdom, under the controul of the head of an ecclesiastical empire.

As the monks were subject primarily to the superiors of their orders, and ultimately to the Pope, so the secular or parochial clergy were subject primarily to their respective Bishops, and ultimately to the supreme head of the empire. Various preparatory steps were taken towards the erecting of this second ecclesiastical kingdom of the Papal empire, so early as the fourth century. The decrees of the Emperor, and the metropolitan dignity of Rome, gradually conferred upon the Pontiff an archiepiscopal authority over the western Bishops, long before he was decreed by a solemn act of the state, and longer still before he was acknowledged by all Europe to be the supreme head of the whole Christian church, and still longer before he united in his own person, the dignity of spiritual and temporal sovereign. In the first council, held by Boniface, an English Friar, in the 8th century, and over which he presided in quality of Legate of the Papal chair, the clergy signed a sort of confession of faith, whereby they obliged themselves not only to maintain the Catholic faith, but also to remain in constant union with the Church of Rome, and to be obedient to the successor of St. Peter.

On this slender foundation, by almost imperceptible degrees, the Popes assumed the right of episcopal appointments, of giving leave to the Bishops of removing from one see to another, and obliged them to receive confirmation from Rome, for which they were required to pay a certain sum of money, as an acknowledgment, which was subsequently converted to *annats*. They made void the decisions of provincial synods or assemblies, threw down their authority, and at length abolished them altogether. They forced the Bishops to swear

fealty to the Pope their sovereign, and decreed that no man should be condemned, who had appealed to the Papal chair.

A similar oath has been imposed by Pius 4th, upon every beneficed clergyman since the Reformation. But how completely the secular clergy under their Bishops, became the second ecclesiastical kingdom of the Papal empire, will best appear from the nature of the oath set forth by Clement the 8th, to be taken by all Bishops at their consecration, and by all metropolitans at their instalment. In this oath they swear, that they will be obedient to the Holy Roman Church, to their Lord the Pope, and his successors ; that they will help them to defend and keep the Roman Papacy, and all the royalties of St. Peter, against all men ; that they will preserve, defend, increase and advance all the rights, honours, privileges, and authority of the Church of Rome, their Lord the Pope, and his successors ; that they will to their utmost, observe all the rules of the holy fathers, the apostolical decrees, ordinances, provisos, reservations and mandates, and cause others to observe them also ; and finally, that they will, to their utmost, oppose and persecute all heretics, schismatics, and rebels against their Lord the Pope, and his aforesaid successors.

Now, my countrymen, your Protestant King, your Protestant Government, and the whole of this Protestant nation, in the judgment of the Court of Rome, are the heretics, schismatics, and enemies against their Lord the Pope, whom every Catholic Bishop, and Metropolitan, swears that he will oppose and persecute to the utmost of his power. An oath, breathing the same spirit, though differently expressed, is taken by every Catholic Priest at his ordination. Thus it appears, that the regular and the secular clergy, under their Generals and Bishops, are the two ecclesiastical king-

doms, so closely connected with the head of the Roman Catholic empire, as to be entirely devoted to its interests and subject to its controul. Here, again, I hear the ideotic reply, this is an old almanack. Wait a little, and you will see its operation, and influence upon the present state of our affairs.

In this spiritual *despotic* empire, which is so jealous of loosing its character as an *imperium in imperio*, and therefore will suffer no interference with its laws, policy, or jurisprudence, which arrogates to itself divine attributes, and claims universal spiritual domination, in the name of the sovereign of the world ; which demands implicit obedience to its laws, as the dictates of divine inspiration ; unqualified submission to its authority, as the authority of God ; and an unconditional surrender of the rights of conscience to its tribunal, as the tribunal of God ; every ruler of every rank is an absolute spiritual despot in the sphere which he occupies, whether he be the general or superior over the different monks or fraternities, the priest over his parishioners, the bishop over his diocese, the metropolitan over the bishops, or the sovereign pontiff over the whole empire. Accordingly, never did despotism appear so pure and absolute, as in the Papal Hierarchy. Hence the awful and intangible infallibility, which the church claims as her hereditary, indefeasible, and exclusive right. Some of the ablest advocates for Catholicism have maintained the infallibility of the Roman Pontiff ; and if he be indeed the vicar or representative of Christ and of God, if his court be apostolical, and whatsoever is done there, is done by apostolical authority, if the laws of his empire be all dictated by divine inspiration, he must indeed be infallible.

But let us be candid, and meet our Roman Catholic brethren upon their own ground. All the modern Roman Catholics, admit and maintain the infallibility of general councils. Those coun-

cils, therefore, we must again examine, whatever silly sneers or feelings of indignation may be excited by such a reference. Hear then, Sir, the great council of Lateran, the decrees of which have been confirmed by the councils of Basle, Constance, and Trent :—"That all engagements entered into with heretics, though sanctioned by an oath, are nullities in themselves, and that the Pope may depose Kings, absolve their subjects from their oaths of allegiance, and give away their kingdoms ;* that all heretics are to be condemned, anathematized, and delivered over to the secular power to be punished ; that according to the law of nature, God or man, no faith nor promise is to be kept with heretics, to the prejudice of the Catholic faith ; that if any temporal lord, being required and warned by the church, shall neglect to do his utmost to exterminate from his territory all heretics, the Pope shall pronounce his subjects absolved from their allegiance, and shall give his territories to be occupied by Catholics, who, having exterminated the heretics, shall hold them by an incontestible title ; that oaths contrary to the interest of the church are not binding, and that such engagements may be denominated perjuries rather than oaths." Hear the Florentine council, which De la Hogue, Professor of Theology in the College of Maynooth, in Ireland, declares, is received as matter of faith by all the Roman Catholic churches :—"We define that the Holy Apostolical Seat, and the Roman Pontiff, hold principality throughout the universal world."

But it would be endless to dwell on citations from the general councils. These are sufficient to establish the position that I have in view, that every Roman Catholic is bound, and that all the orders of the priesthood are bound, by the most solemn oaths, to uphold and advance the domina-

* Bellarm. de Concil.

tion of the Catholic empire. This he is bound to do by divine authority; and by whatever means, though it be at the expence of all the principles of morality, of all the bonds of mutual confidence between man and man, of the deposition of Kings, and of the overthrow of states and kingdoms. This paramount object swallows up every other. He must keep no faith with heretics, to the prejudice of the Catholic faith. He must not be bound by oaths, which are contrary to the interest of the church, but consider such engagements as perjuries rather than oaths. If heretics are to be condemned and anathematized, and delivered over to the rack and the faggot, it is for the good of the church, and because they stand in the way of her advancement. For the same reason Popes must absolve subjects from their allegiance to heretic Princes, and give them to be occupied by Catholics, and the Apostolic Seat, and the Roman Pontiff hold principality throughout the universal world; that their spiritual empire may become, in fact, what it is, *jure divino*, absolutely universal. A Roman Catholic will keep faith, and conscientiously observe his oaths, with heretics, maintain his allegiance, and discharge all the duties of society as conscientiously as any other man, where the interests of the Catholic faith, the good of the church, or the advancement of the Catholic empire, to which it belongs, are not concerned.

But why, it may be demanded, appeal to these canons and councils in such an enlightened age as the 19th century? Because, Sir, in this enlightened age, they are the accredited documents of the Roman Catholic faith; because, in this enlightened age, they have never been annulled, and being infallible, never can be annulled; because, in this enlightened age, their infallibility is allowed by all Priests and Bishops of the Catholic church; because, in this enlightened age, all

Roman Catholics believe, that it would be a most pernicious error to admit, that a general council can err, and that it would be blasphemy to assert that the canons, sentences, and decrees of general councils are not dictated by the Holy Ghost ; * and, because, in this enlightened age, according to the testimony of Dr. Milner, the students preparing for holy orders, devote four years to the study of these canons and councils ; and after these preparatory studies, all Catholic Priests, who wield the passions of the Catholic population in Ireland at their will, swear that they profess and receive without doubting, all things therein declared ; that they condemn what these councils condemn, and anathematize what they anathematize.

Here, again, I hear the asinine cry of "old almanacks." Ah, but they are red lettered almanacks, and the impress is blood. Witness the bloody night of St. Bartholomew, and the perfidious revocation of the edict of Nantz. Witness the bloody valleys of the Vaudois and of Piedmont ; the princes deposed, and the kingdoms laid under interdict. Witness the thousands and myriads, millions and tens of millions of innocent victims, that have been sacrificed in the execution of the decrees and canons of these infallible councils. The Catholic laity, it is said, know nothing of these councils ; but the Priests do, or they have studied them four years to very little purpose, who have the consciences and passions, the moral and physical powers of the laity completely under their command. The Bishops and the Metropolitans understand them, who have the Priests under their controul ; and they are well understood by the Pontiff, the absolute sovereign of the whole despotic empire. We are told, indeed, that the Catholics of the present day detest, abhor, and abjure such principles. But can a Roman

* Concil Bas. tom. VIII. pp. 128-131, apud Binium.

Catholic deny the infallibility of his own church? This, Sir, is schism, it is heresy, it is Protestantism; the very crimes against which the canons and councils of the church are levelled, and against which they have been so often put in execution. Let them deny their infallibility, abjure and express their abhorrence and detestation of these principles, and of the decrees of the councils in which they are contained, as the English Catholic noblemen, clergymen, and gentlemen, commonly called the *Protesting Catholic Dissenters*, did, in the year 1812, and they will soon be taught by the overwhelming force of priestly influence, and the thunder and lightning of the Papal See, that they have mistaken their own principles; that the authority and the canons of the church are not to be tampered with, and be compelled to rescind their abjuration, as those gentlemen were, the protesting declaration, which but a few months before they had signed.

Such, then, is the Papal Hierarchy, that *imperium in imperio*. Can we conceive of a system of policy so favourable to despotism, so adverse to liberty, so hostile to the independence of nations? Could any other system which tyranny ever devised, tend so effectually to cramp, debase, and enslave the human mind; to invade the right of private judgment, the exercise of reason, and full enquiry into subjects of eternal importance? How invincible, then, is the conclusion from all these premises;—that the abettors of the Catholic claims, be they whosoever they may, are, perhaps unwittingly, the enemies of liberty and the abettors of despotism. A system which thus lays fast hold of the human heart, and acts upon the passions by such awful motives, must operate with prodigious effect upon the blind and ignorant multitude, when managed by ecclesiastics, and through them, by traitors and fanatical Atheists.

Here, then, we perceive the secret causes of that tyranny, which the Catholic empire has exercised over Papal nations; of that intolerance which renders her so odious to Protestant states; of those blood-stained tracks that have marked her domination and her struggles for superiority; of those crusades and armadas, plots and conspiracies, anathemas and cruelties, by which she has so often astonished, confounded, and convulsed the world. The same causes are still in action, co-operating with others not less malignant, and to them may be ascribed, the agitations and convulsions which are at this very moment distressing the minds, and alienating from each other the people of this Great Empire. They are, in fact, only parts of the same mighty controversy which commenced at the Norman Conquest; has continued until this day, and will never cease, till Popery is completely overthrown, and for ever annihilated.

The strength of the general is his army; and the Pope, though an individual in a foreign country, is at this crisis, six or seven millions strong in Ireland. What is it that enables him to urge on or controul the passions of the deluded populace in Ireland, to break off the natural connection between the landlord and the tenant, and work them up to fanatical phrensy, or allay their violence, as best suits with his general policy? It is the constitution of his ecclesiastical kingdom in that unhappy country. What is it that furnishes the Catholic Association with the facilities of maturing in secret their plans of treason, rebellion, and massacre, till they are ripe for execution; of assuming the powers of government, in levying and collecting taxes, under the name of the Catholic Rent; of congregating and dispersing, of remaining silent and inactive, or of rising simultaneously, according to the aspect of ever varying circumstances? It is the peculiar structure of the

two ecclesiastical kingdoms of the Catholic empire, which have ever been the curse of Ireland. It is this, too, that enables them to maintain their ground in defiance of English law, and in contempt of the puny administration of an half Catholic Lord Lieutenant.

Their power, then, is tremendous; and all they want is a fulcrum, on which to fix the lever of their politico-ecclesiastical machine; and this they are seeking, by attempting to force their agents into the highest offices of the legal, naval, and military departments; into the cabinet, and all offices of power and state; and into the British parliament, the grand theatre where the battle must be fought, by upwards of a hundred Catholic members and peers, with their auxiliaries, the liberal infidels in disguise, against the staunch Protestants in both houses who are ready to stand or fall with the Constitution, and their half intimidated associates.

And shall we Englishmen throw down the bulwarks of our Constitution, and *surrender* to this fanatical conspiracy? It is said, that we must surrender; that expediency and necessity demand the surrender. So, then, after all, Old England must stoop from her elevation, and give up all that is dear to Englishmen, at the command of traitors, with the weapons of rebellion in their hands. That such a senator as Mr. Dawson should be frightened out of his principles, or even out of his wits, by what he saw in Ireland, excites no surprise. That the Home Secretary himself, acute and penetrating as he is, but feeble and trembling as a leaf shaken by the wind, and destitute, it should seem, of the capacity for forming those comprehensive views of a great national question, which constitutes a great statesman, should be disposed to surrender, is not at all surprising either. But that Wellington, whose military career in India was one uninterrupted course of victory; that Wellington, who

met all the great captains of Napoleon in succession on the Peninsula, baffled their skill, and tore the laurels from their brow ; that Wellington, who met their master on the field of Waterloo, and crushed his power for ever ; that the noble Duke of Wellington, the hero of India, the Peninsula, and of Waterloo, should cringe and surrender, and hold out a premium for treason, to such things as Shiel, O'Connell, and that shadow of a thing, poor Lawless, may well excite the astonishment of the empire, and of the world.

But, perhaps, the difficulties of the Irish question are too embarrassing for his powers to manage, and the man who is mighty in the field is feeble in the Cabinet ? All historians, from Xenophon and Thucydides, to Voltaire and Gibbon, lay down as an axiom, that the same powers which form the great general, form also the great statesman ; and this axiom has been confirmed by the history of all conquerors, from Alexander to Napoleon ; yet the Noble Duke, it seems, is an exception to that general rule. But is the Noble Duke aware, has he not been admonished by the highest legal authority in the land, that in attempting to bring in the measure which he proposes to submit to the British Parliament, he is treading on the margin of High Treason ? Why was the legitimate heir to the British Throne excluded, and the Crown transferred to a collateral branch of the old royal stock, but because the former was a Roman Catholic, and the latter a Protestant ? Do not the same Laws, the same Acts of Parliament, which secure to the throne a Protestant Prince, secure also a Protestant House of Lords, a Protestant House of Commons, and an entire Protestant Government ? And do not the same Laws, the same Acts of Parliament, which exclude a Catholic Prince from the throne of these realms, exclude also Catholic Peers from the House of Lords, Catholic lay gentlemen from the House

of Commons, and Catholics from every branch of the Protestant Administration? What is it that the Roman Catholics demand? The removal of all disabilities on account of religion, to offices of power and state. Is not the royal office an office of power and state? They demand, therefore, the removal of all disabilities, on account of religion, to the royal office, in order to prepare the way for a Catholic Prince to ascend the throne. For in the event of these concessions being granted, will not the Crown of Great Britain, according to the laws of the realm, go to the descendant of Charles 1st, Felix, King of Sardinia, the most bigotted Catholic Prince in Europe?

It is well known that the dynasty of the Stuarts was superseded, because the Stuarts attempted to introduce Roman Catholics into the council, the senate, and all offices of power and trust; and that the House of Nassau first, and after that the House of Brunswick, were invited to the throne by the people of England, on the express condition that they would not commit the same acts which the Stuarts had committed. This has been said before, but it requires to be stated in a clearer and stronger point of view. Thus the hereditary, or the legitimate right, was superseded by the elective right, or the choice of the people. The entire exclusion of Roman Catholics from the Government is, therefore, the qualification of the Brunswick sovereignty. On this condition the British Throne is now held by that dynasty. If, then, the House of Brunswick violate that condition, or the people of England should release the House of Brunswick from that condition, the elective right ceases, and the hereditary right returns. I know that I am treading on delicate ground, but these are the times that try men's hearts. I love the Princes of the House of Brunswick, and long may they live to rule these kingdoms, upon the same

principles that have hitherto guided their conduct ; but their best safety consists, in their faithfully fulfilling the conditions of their compact with the people of England.*

It is still said there is no danger, for the times are changed. It is true the times have changed, and with the change of the times, some Englishmen have lost the good sense by which their fathers were distinguished. But think of the march of intellect ! *The strut of idiocy and atheism.* But science is making rapid progress ; the boundaries of human knowledge are enlarged, and are still enlarging. True ;—but no advance of science, no enlargement of the boundaries of human knowledge, can change infallible councils, or the jurisprudence of an infallible empire. But the Roman Catholics themselves are changed. Hear the answer to this assertion, from an able and accredited apologist of the Roman Catholics, the late Mr. Plowden, of this city. “ If any man says, or means to insinuate, that the modern Roman Catholics differ in one iota from their predecessors, he is either deceived himself, or he means to deceive others. *Semper eadem* is no less emphatically descriptive of our religion than of our jurisprudence.”

But surely there can be no danger, you reply, amidst the noon-tide light of the 19th century. Sir, never, in any age, was the saying of the Poet more strikingly exemplified, than it is in the age in which we live, “ a little knowledge is a dangerous thing.” To what cause, but this superficial knowledge, are we to ascribe the Infidelity and Atheism of the present age ; the horrid coalition of Atheists, Catholics, and Ministers of the Gospel, that marks the peculiar character of the present time ? To what other cause can be

* *Vide* an eloquent and loyal speech, delivered by the Rev. Mr. Townsend, a Clergyman in Yorkshire.

ascribed, the wretched, blundering policy with which this kingdom, and particularly Ireland, has been governed for the last five-and-twenty years ?

What has been the policy of the British Government towards that unhappy country, during that period ? Has it not been a constant alternation of irritation and concession ; concession and irritation ; a perfect ringing of changes upon conciliation and coercion, coercion and conciliation ; the sending of a Lord Lieutenant half a Catholic, and a Secretary Anti-Catholic ; or a Secretary half a Catholic, and the Lord Lieutenant an Anti-Catholic, until the nation has been wrought up to the present agitated and convulsed state.

The whole course of policy with regard to Ireland, as Mr. Peel has said, must be entirely altered, or Ireland will be lost, and dreadful will be the state of things in this kingdom. But is this to be done by the sacrifice, or at the hazard, of Protestant British liberty ? No, verily. Again, it is said, can you not repose in Divine Providence ? What stupid barefaced fatalism ! As though it were said, the enemy is breaking into your house, but trust in Providence, and make no resistance ; or throw yourself down St. Vincent's Rocks, and though the laws of gravitation will break all your bones, yet fear nothing, but trust in Providence.

But surely little danger is to be apprehended, from conceding a little more to what has been already conceded. Let the Noble Duke himself answer this objection. He declares that it is the intention of Government to remove *all* disabilities, with a few special exceptions, only upon special grounds. Besides, every concession hitherto, has been a step in advance toward the grand ultimatum, which unquestionably is the overthrow of Church and State ; for every concession has been succeeded by louder and more clamorous demands, has enlarged their sphere of action, and augmented their power of accomplish-

ing their object. Are men then such idiots as to imagine, that when they have not only broken down the ramparts, but intrenched themselves in the very citadel of the Constitution, their power will not be fearfully increased, or that while their object is almost within their grasp, the danger will not be increased in proportion? What, though the wolf has made a breach in the door of the sheep fold, and thrust in his head, shall the shepherd assist him to widen that breach for his shoulders to enter; or, like the man in the fable, form a compact with the enemy, that upon condition of free admission, he shall throw off his wolfish nature and spare the flock? Or perhaps, you suppose, that his nature will be changed, by associating with the sheep?

The Dissenters, it is said, are friendly to the Catholic claims. The statement is not correct. The gentlemen assembling in Cross-street are not the representatives of the great body of Protestant Dissenters in this kingdom. They are a self-elected faction. The Dissenters in general disown them. Some of them are very excellent men from the base of the skull downwards; others of them have clear heads as well as honest hearts, but they are either carried down the stream, or are evidently under some unhappy bias; at any rate, they are apostates from the principles of their forefathers. But oh, 'tis pitiful, 'tis very pitiful, to see good men leagued together, not only with Roman Catholics, whose principles consigned their fathers to the flames, and would consign them to the flames also, but with Infidels and Atheists, who hate Catholics and Protestants alike.

It has been unblushingly asserted, yet surely without sufficient consideration, that no one ought to be excluded from offices of power and emolument, on the ground of any peculiarity in his religious tenets. What absurdities will some men, who call themselves Statesmen and Philosophers,

both speak and write, when they legislate and philosophize without thinking. This principle would place a Jew upon the Treasury Bench, a Brahmin on the Wool Sack, a Mahometan at the head of the Army, and a Papist on the Throne. But it is to no purpose to be ever contending with ignorance in dark places, or with prejudice, which becomes the more inveterate the more labour you bestow upon it, like iron upon the anvil, which is beaten the closer into its own body, by every stroke of the hammer.*

Sir, I have been charged with being an enemy to my Roman Catholic brethren. I rebut the charge, I will not say with indignation, but with pity, for the accusers. No man in the British Empire can be more ready to render good service to the extent of his power to a Roman Catholic, or to acknowledge the social virtues by which a virtuous Roman Catholic is adorned, than I am. No man would sooner trust to the oath, or even the promise, of an honest Roman Catholic, in the civil transactions of life, and in all matters in which the Catholic faith, the interests and authority of the Catholic Church, and the dominancy of the Catholic Empire are not concerned, than I would. I distinguish between men and principles; and while I love the man, self-preservation urges me to oppose the admission of his principles, into the Protestant Constitution of my country. I respect the honest Catholic, and maintain that he is a far more consistent and honorable character than his Atheistical and Protestant coadjutor; but I abjure, abhor and detest Popery from my heart.

Perhaps it may be said, that in all this nothing new has been advanced. Well, be it so; to no-

* For an amplification of this idea, see pages 8, 9, and 10 of a former Speech, printed in 1813. In answer to the noise that has been made about the admission of Catholics and Protestants into the same Government in some of the States of Europe, I would refer triumphantly to Lord Bexley's Letter, addressed to the Freeholders of Kent,

velty I make no pretensions. My heart only clings to the principles for which my fathers struggled and bled. And I insist, that the task of bringing novelty to the discussion of this question rests upon the opposite party.

The majority of the people of England, it is said, is friendly to further concessions to the Roman Catholics. It is false, palpably false. If the whole nation were canvassed, it is my firm conviction, that a hundred to one would be found staunch Protestants. Why, then, it may be demanded, has not the public voice been heard sooner and louder? It has already been heard, and will be heard louder still. The confidence of the nation has been betrayed. Our beloved Sovereign has been taken by surprise. The British Lion has been asleep, through the opiate of Liberalism with which he has been drugged. He has been reposing on the good faith of his favourite hero, the conqueror of Napoleon. But he has now risen from his lair; he is shaking the dew-drops from his mane, and let all tamperers with the British Constitution, hear the roar of his voice and tremble. Do we then wish to involve the country in blood? No, Sir; it is from compassion to Ireland, from love to our country, and to prevent such scenes, that Englishmen speak out.

Something, however, must be done, and done speedily, with regard to Ireland. The distracted state of that country imperatively demands the immediate interference of the British Government. Whatever measures may be adopted, ought they not to be prompt, decisive, and final? Ought not the laws to be vigorously enforced by a Protestant Administration? An able writer in Blackwood's Magazine, the clearest and the most powerful writer on this great subject in the present day, has shown that nothing more is necessary to secure the tranquillity of Ireland, than the vigorous administration

of the law as it now stands. But to raise her moral character, and to promote her future prosperity, should not the government secure an open field, for the diffusion of religious and moral principle through the great mass of the population, by means of Sabbath Schools, from which writing and arithmetic are excluded, and whatever tends to weaken, in the minds of the children a reverence for the sanctity of the Lord's day; by means of Day Schools, of Bible Societies, and of Evangelical Preaching; and to throw the strong arm of protection around those good men who are willing to enter into this field and render their gratuitous services. Honesty, probity, industry, and all the social virtues would thereby be promoted. Public opinion would change, and Ireland would emancipate herself from priestly domination. The Pope sways the sceptre of the world, not as an earthly, but as a spiritual sovereign. His authority over states and kingdoms depends entirely upon opinion. Destroy this in his favour, and his chains melt away, and the spectre vanishes.

Sir, I am a Christian, a firm believer in divine revelation, and therefore in the prophetic part of that revelation. What I am going to say, will probably excite the sneer of the superficial Infidel, and draw down the vituperation of the blaspheming Atheist. But sanctioned by such high authorities as the learned Mede, and Sir Isaac Newton, the greatest man that either this or any other country ever produced, I am bold to say, that the Church of Rome bears upon her brow the brand of divine vengeance; that she must fall; and that all the secular kingdoms in alliance with her, will fall when she falls, in one vast and simultaneous ruin; and that the only security for our beloved country, amidst the wreck of nations, will be her Protestantism.

Let every thing, then, be granted to the Roman Catholics consistent with the purity and integrity

of a Protestant Government; by which I mean, a Protestant Parliament, and a Protestant Administration; but stop here. Beyond this mark is double Treason; Treason against the Majesty of the King, and Treason against the liberties of the people.

Sir, as a man and an Englishman, as a Christian and a Protestant, as a Friend to Liberty and Toleration, and an Enemy to Intolerance and Despotism, as a lover of my King and of my Country, and a most cordial well-wisher to the best interests of Ireland, I support the Petition, and must ever support similar Petitions, while an English heart beats in my bosom. Nor shall I be at all moved or surprised, though this honest avowal of my principles, should draw down upon me the obloquy of the adverse party; for I shall not wonder to hear the wolf of Atheism and Intolerance howl, when pierced with the spear of Liberty and of Truth.

FINIS.

ERRATUM.

For *Sheldon* read *Selden*. Vide page 12, line 2.



[

